634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja, and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked a-
[611] bout Tana Ai, and they knew that it was matrilineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it was matrilineal too, which was news to me. Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
●582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the kapitan with several men wading across the river to the garden on the other side. We called him back and he got in suspiciously and we then drove back to his house. There he called the kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a relative of his, an old man with an old sarong and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis [scribe].

I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
124 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
634 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently
632 a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

R

632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.
634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.
632 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former
578 kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.
583 They say that the bride price is necessary
614 for marriage, and that the price is really high.
476 They say that some people go bankrupt in order
237 to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride
[436] price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces
[727] called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone because they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.
614 Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are con-
582 cerned and residence is patrilocal. They did
[591]

614 R
582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to They did
178 break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke, however, the old adat is still strong and the exogamous rule still holds. The young people who have gone to school are beginning to rebel, but the elders remain strong and hold to the adat.

771 I asked about religion and they said that at
797 least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan. Most of the rest are Christian, although there are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the familiar one of the younger generation becoming Christian while the older generation remains pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewarangga, because there are five suku and about two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers. In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas. Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of public works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility and others not (I must find out more about this). The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief (thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u (pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on this as it may be a survival of a purely genealogical localization of clans in a single kampong). He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u. The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

614 main suku there are several others in Rewarangga, but they have moved in and are not original suku. But any one of them may be given land and become in effect "members" of the communities. Thus Tibo is a suku which has virtually entered Roworeke. Later I got some kind of an explanation that it was formerly a kampong on the hill above there, but has now moved into a section of Roworeke. In fact, I saw this section, with only about three houses, and it is called Kopoedo. Among the suku which are "foreign" in Rewarangga are Ambu Djawa, Ambu Nduru, and Ambu Rutu. Ambu means grandfather.

624 632 Later I got more information about the mosa laki. Evidently in the kapitanschap there are four big mosa laki: mosa laki mere, giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani. Then, in each kampong there are four with the same names, but they are on a lower level even though their functions are the same. I met the mig mosa laki mere and giri tumba of Rewarangga. They were old fellows, dignified, dressed in adat clothes, and most refreshing in contrast to the modernized Catholics like the kapitan and the guru. They are polite and quiet. I got the impression that maybe most [887] of the mosa laki are older men. They are probably mainly if not all pagan too, and probably mainly illiterate.

614 ● 582 Talking with the kapitan and the scribe and a few other lads later, I learned that suku exogamy is not necessary if there is enough distance between the relatives. Thus the kapitan is married to a fellow-Odja. They noted, however, in my questioning, that most people seem to have married exogamously.

527 129 The second day was the Flag Day, and I took ten fellows in the jeep from Roworeke. After the ritual, which was not very impressive (the Sikka radja made a speech with little grace), we went 123 with Ariens (the Controleur) on a ride to Nanga-

123 panda, a kampong about thirty kilometers to the west along the coast road. The drive was very
133 scary above tremendous cliffs above the sea, but the scenery was magnificent, with Pulo Ende in the bay and the mountains all around. The road is extremely dangerous, especially when the rains come. The kampongs here seem to be
[771] mainly Mohammedan. They are shabby. Only one
361 side, that which faces the sea, of Pulo Ende, is inhabited.

123 When we returned it was too late, although the men were sitting in the pasanggrahan. We talked
●[582] for a little while and I got some information on the non-existence of strict exogamous marriage rules. We also talked a little about a map and the schedule with the assistant. Then we took them back to the kampong. We did nothing more that day, but the kapitan suggested that we go to Kilimutu, the colored lake mountain, on the next day, Sunday. I refused at first, but then thought that I might as well and get it over. I note that
[181] these people are not retiring and respectful like the Buginese, although the kapitan is really quite polite. Still he has an eye on the jeep as a means of getting around. They are all mad over the camera and talk constantly about photographs I should take and give to them. I could easily lose my patience with them. They keep asking for things.

126 The next day we went to the kampong at seven
123 in the morning and tried to get away fast. But we had to take photographs, and I was almost deluged with requests for more from all sides. I took pictures of the two old mosa laki, the kapitan, etc. The old mother of the kapitan, a good type with the usual betel teeth, asked me through the interpreter to take her photograph before she died. I said I would on the return
123 from the lakes. Finally we got off, and I had a terrible struggle insisting that I could take

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there, and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer type, and it is strange that she is not married. I get the idea there is some friction between her and her father. She had five years of schooling at the sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office), and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
●[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daughter says this is all right as she was from Larantuka. If she were from any kampong behind the mountain, this would have been impossible. The house was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter. The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We talked a great deal about adat and then came back to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit the children in the school there.

312 In the afternoon we picked him up and went to Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kampong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the spa, and here there were many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong for this). Women were also hauling water from this place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon. There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as many as one hundred houses and a possible population of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat. #3--Analyze]

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being accepted as of the same religion in any way.
797 The mission headquarters has a large building
346 for priests (there are always three here, but
874 others come to rest and get supplies), several
793 workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.), a lower and a following school of five grades with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls are kept separate (boys and girls from other islands sleep in dormitories), a household school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really a great plant. There are four brothers of a "working" type here, who run the workshops and handle the technical education, including one Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks
[792] Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here, and they also help in the small government hospital. Evidently all or nearly all the schools in this area are "government," but they are really run by the mission. I haven't found out exactly how the system works yet. The Mission is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine used for electricity, etc. They have a very large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot, which can never be any good. Maybe they regard it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a foothold which may later be expanded.

244 There are practically no vegetables except
262 tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other food.

582 The suku marriage custom is evidently still
614 in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 It is notable that there are so many border
721

614 ama chiefs. As for the marriage rules, many of
582 them are based on the old marriage relations
835 which were complicated by ritual stuff. He
684 talks a lot about how such and such cannot marry so and so because his group is an older or a younger brother of the latter. This could stand further investigation. Anyway, marriages are as follows:

Men of	Marry Women of
I-1a	IV, V-2
I-1b	II-2, III, (I-2) (note)
I-2	II-1, IV, V
I-3a	IV
I-3b	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
II-1	I-1a, III
II-2	I-3b, IV
III-1	I-3b, IV
III-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, V
III-3a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2
III-3b	I-2, I-3a, IV, V
IV-1a	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-1b	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-1	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a

[583] The notable case of a marriage inside a suku
178 started three generations ago when a man of I-1b wanted to marry a woman of I-2 (Ama Kottang Belepe Lolong Lango' Kene' and Waktuka(ng), thus. This was heavily taboo, but the man wanted the woman badly and the men of Waktuka(ng) said that if he paid a terrific bride price he could have her. This was done, not without some fuss, and ever since it has been possible to do this without paying the terrific price because the ice
582 was broken. All know that it is a terrible
614 thing, however. I expressed horror and asked
835 whether these two groups weren't having bad trou-
684 bles because of the curse of incest. The guru
688

582 614 835 684 [688] said yes, it had caused great misfortune. I told about the evils of breaking the pela and fam rules in Ambon, and he burst out with a speech about how much worse it is to commit an adat sin than it is to commit a religious sin. The latter hurts a man only when he faces God, and it may be washed away before he dies. But the former makes a man an outcast all his life, shunned and marked, and the curse afflicts his crops, children, and everything. This was a guru serani speaking!

The women run as follows (incidentally he says he knows of a case of the same sort of incest from Wailolong, which I will get tomorrow). (In the old days punishment for breaking marriage rules consisted of expulsion from the suku, ripping off of clothes, and even the death penalty.)

Women of	Marry Men of
I-1a	II-2, III-2, III-3a
I-1b	IV, V
I-2	III-2, III-3a, (I-1b) (note)
I-3a	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
I-3b	II-2, III-1
II-1	I-2, IV, V
II-2	I-1b, II-1
III-1	I-1b, II-1
III-2	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
III-3a	I-1b, I-3b, II-1, IV, V
III-3b	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
IV-1a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-1b	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
V-1	I-2, III-2, III-3b
V-2	I-1a, I-2, III-2, III-3b

In the evening I tried to make some sense out of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [364] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; [301] feather decorations are used only festively; the special woman's horse-[302] tail coiffure is not used here any longer; [755] cotton is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[1]; one [614] of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; the [784] term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp.19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

114 As Vatter says, there are taboos of a totemic
784 sort. Ama Hurint has a taboo on a kind of
614 vegetable. Others are as given by Vatter. Vatter has a real error, however, in that there are only five suku, not six, because Marang is within Kottang.

582 Marriage with one's father's sister's sister
835 [father's sister's daughter?] is taboo, as are
177 marriages between parallel cousins. Mother's brother's daughter marriages are preferred, and this occurs regularly. It was interesting to note that the mother's brother's daughter marriage is considered taboo in Catholic communities. This was admitted, and no longer do Catholics
[836] here marry their real mother's brother's daughter unless the girl has become pregnant (this is evidently a fairly common occurrence, as it is mentioned freely). However, because of the classificatory system, it is possible to marry a mother's brother's daughter relative through the grandparents. Such a relative must be at least a fourth grade cousin to suit the Catholics. Thus they manage to maintain the old system and suit the Catholic demand.

601 Kinship terms are as follows:

father:	bapa
father's brother:	bosu
father's sister:	nona, kaka (male speaking); nona kaka, tia (female speaking) (Tia means mother-in-law)
father's brother's son:	kaka aring (male speaking); na'a (female speaking)
father's brother's daughter:	bine (male speaking); kaka aring (female speaking)

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

601

	mother's brother's son (male speaking), (at one point, mother's sister's son)
opu:	father's sister's son (male speaking) (at two points, mother's sister's son [probably not][female speaking], and mother's brother's son [male speaking])
opu kesi(ng):	father's sister's daughter (male speaking)
nada:	father's sister's daughter (female speaking), mother's brother's daughter (female speaking)
dading:	mother's brother's son (female speaking), (at two points, mother's brother and mother's sister's son [male speaking])
blake:	father-in-law (male speaking), mother's brother (at one point, mother's brother's son [male speaking])
tiu:	father-in-law (female speaking), father's sister's husband (female speaking)
tia:	mother-in-law, father's sister (female speaking), mother's brother's wife (male speaking)
mure'bereung:	mother's brother's daughter (male speaking), father's sister's son (female speaking)
woru'i(ng):	older sibling
tukan dore(ng):	younger sibling
tuho wutung:	middle sibling

583 He said in regard to the circulation of the
582 marriages that the mother's brother's daughter
614 marriage is the thing that keeps the system going. It is this plus the exchange of the tusks. The sibs, subsibs, and sub-subsibs gear in too. There is much indirect exchange of wives, but it can't

582 be straight exchange. They must have one inter-
583 mediate move because of the mother's brother's
614 daughter marriage. He sees this clearly, and says that if one could marry a father's sister's daughter they could have a straight exchange. He says that they do this in Tandjung Bunga. Vatter[1] says this is not so. If they do not want to give the tusks or they do not have them, they can work out the bride price in a deal with two other sib groupings so that A will give a girl to B, B a girl to C, and C a girl to A. Thus no tusks are needed, but they act as though the tusks had actually made the rounds. It is all done in their heads. They must plan this, as not every combination will bring the exchange back to the original sib grouping in three moves. Of course, a more complicated deal can be made with many moves leading the fictitious tusks around and a girl back to the group that starts the whole thing.

836 The premarital sex relations with the arrange-
583 ment that leads to marriage which Vatter[1] calls penara is properly called penaga(ng). The guru prefers to call it bride-service, but it is not so according to Vatter[1].

The guru says there are three kinds of marriage here: capture, service (or premarital sex relations leading to marriage), and payment. He calls the last the respectable type. It requires tusks, either real or according to bookkeeping.

192 Vatter[1] makes a bad error on page 83. Kelen
114 does not mean "heaven," but only foot. The word for heaven, on which he was confused, is klng, with almost no vowels.

782 Prayer is not carried out by the Marang. The
788 word marang means to pray, and this has led to
614 the confusion that the ritual prayers at the animal killing were always done by the Suku Marang. The latter merely hands the betel around. The oldest man who is an expert, from whatever

[1][See bibliography, cat.113--Analyst]

Wa

614
621
a. Ama Radja
b. Ama Belolong
c. Ama Rere

II. Leworita
a. Subamaki(ng)
b. Harutmaki(ng)
c. Tapopuka(ng)

III. Ama Hurint
a. Hadumbole(ng)
(1) Hadumbole(ng)
(2) Hadumbole(ng) Nipatale (slave descendants)
b. Marimaki(ng)
c. Melamaki(ng)

IV. Lewato
a. Ama Waru'i(ng)
b. Waktuka(ng)
c. Tuhowutung

V. Lewodoreng
a. Ama Waru'i(ng)
b. Engamaki(ng)

582
614
835
The marriages run as follows (I checked a few from the woman's side and this is enough):

Men of	Marry Women of
Ia	IIIa2, IIIb, IIIc
Ib	IIIa1, IIIb, IIIc
Ic	IIIb, IIIc
IIa	I, IVa
IIb	Ia, Ic, IIIa, IIIb
IIc	III
IIIa1	Ic, IVb, V
IIIa2	Ib, IVb, V
IIIb	IIa, IVb, IVc, V
IIIc	IIa, IIb, IVc, V, (IIIa) (Note)
IVa1	III

Wv

Men of	Marry Women of
IVa2	III
IVb	I, II
IVc	I, II
Va	I, II
Vb	I, II

582 614 835 583 684 178 The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which involved three virtually simultaneous marriages which occurred two generations ago. There were three men from one family who paid a very high bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

624 622 614 554 The offices are as follows:

--Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)

I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)

(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

We

622 Ama Hurint — Head: Man called from Ia or Ib.
624 Feet: Man called from IIa or IIb.
614 Cut: Man from Hurint, except
796 Nipatale.
574

231 Lewato — Head: Man from IVa.
Feet: Man from IVb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

Lewodoreng — Head: Man from Va.
Feet: Man from Vb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head: Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet: Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut: Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are
567 IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-1b--are former
423 slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng)
● 582 Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no
[796] ritual standing and they may never hold or cut.
They just look on. Also, they have no land of their own, but use the land of their masters (i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They
[753] must give the first fruits of their gardens to these masters, and if they do not they get sick. He says that they were bought from Adonara not long ago, perhaps about four generations. They are not really free yet. They must obey the orders of their masters. In ordinary life, however, this is a matter of adat and respect (hormat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

Wa

614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

[727] The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong, however, there is still plenty of this child betrothal business. This may take place at the age of three to four years. They are told of this when they are from five to six years old. As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the bride price anyway. In the old days, however, a boy never refused, or almost never. The younger brother of the guru hated the girl he was betrothed to as a child and ran away to Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and they were lost by so doing. Later the brother married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
582 Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman. His wife was from Balela. Later, the present kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

The guru's father had much magic power. He
789 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
776 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
178 he alone saw them. Other people would see them
825 sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a horse in front of the house one night when he was young. He looked out and there stood a buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area. He called his father and the latter told him to shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's familiars. Another time the guru was in the fields with his father and heard stones rattling. He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here either. He called his father, and again his

R Smaller private rites are held for such
755 cases as illness. A medicine man or woman (and in the example given they said woman; perhaps they are more frequent than men) is called in and magical rites are performed.

●582 614 178 We got onto the suku exogamy matter, and they said at first that one could marry within the suku if the relationship was at least three generations off. But I pressed this a little further and they seemed less certain. I looked over the list which is now up to No. 190, and I noticed only a single case of endogamy. This proved to be a man from the outside who had been "adopted" by the Odja (he was originally from Lio) long ago. He was still separate, however, and I noticed that although he is still trying to find the name of his suku in the old place, the assistant left the suku slot blank for him and his children. This proved to be a case of no bride price and hence matrilocal residence. Thus there is not a single case of suku endogamy. I suspect that they
[124] are either trying to fool me into thinking they follow only Catholic rules, or else they know the latter and talk about them. Or perhaps they just don't phrase the old rules in the same way any more, although they follow them actually in practice.

124 We got onto the schedule as he has written a few short answers already. They are not bad, but it is evident that thinking and writing are painful for him.

342 Formerly the kampong was much larger than it is today and the houses were bigger by far. They are still large. In regard to migration
166 the situation is not too clear, but it is quite evident that very few people leave. Most of the individuals who go away are police or soldiers who serve in other parts of Flores. There are also a few teachers who serve elsewhere in Flores. They nearly all come back later. Their

611 I think he[1] said it is possible to pay part of Also
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
824 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem.
583 Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
554 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
614 but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana) and slaves (ata hoö). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

1 [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more
243 people in many of the houses. The complex arrangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about $1\frac{1}{2}$ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
177 houses were introduced here by a priest. The
58 guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

We

721 whips. Later the mandur of the pasanggrahan,
555 a Manggarai man from kampong Ruteng, said that girls especially like a man who has knocked out another's eye with a whip.[1] It looks like a head-hunting pattern, but so far I have gotten no response on the subject of head-hunting, and the priests say it did not exist here even in former times. I must check on this.

[126] We took photographs, and one of them was of
634 the Radja. He was a bit drunk, and said that
273 the dancers were hot inside too. He made what
537 seemed to me to be an unnecessary speech to
609 the men around him to the effect that we were Americans and not Dutch and as to why we were here. Later he said he was busy as this was the day of the kampong folk. He said he would see us later so that if we needed any help we could call on him, and he could also warn us of possible dangers. The latter reference was vague, and I can't see the point. He called a lad who came with a bottle of brandy and we had drinks in front of a great crowd. He wore a songko, which is strange for a Christian radja. Evidently, from what we hear, the Radja here has been in for only a short time, and this one is both young and new, as his father died recently (maybe not his father?)

614 Then we went back to the pasanggrahan and
582 talked with the mandur who said that in the Ruteng kampong there is still plenty of the old culture. He said it is possible to marry inside the va'u (this is the correct spelling) or outside. He said marriages usually occur outside. He said something about how if one partner was from the older sibling branch of the va'u and the other from the younger sibling branch, they may marry (could it be that here we have a subclan?) The assistant says they have panga inside the va'u, and he gave his own as the first, which I think means the older branch. Thus

[1] [i.e., during the ritualized mock warfare games; see p.92, c.pt.116 --Analyst]

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

124 In the evening the assistant came to the pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to be the best one yet. He knows plenty about the old customs, and Christianity has not caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
582 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In the old clan house there were nine posts, in rows of three. The very center pillar was the main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in the front half of the house. The rear section of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls. In the center, behind the main post, was the kitchen. Later, when more than one round house was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc. Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each house was inhabited usually by one panga, and in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

War

243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is called pusat. I think the center of the circular rice field complex is also called the pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name of a kampong about one kilometer outside the town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and there he will spend tonight. He is his father's successor. Will he take the post? He said just about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan. But evidently they could be Christian, although a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is possible to marry with one's mother's brother's daughter, but not with the other cousins, including father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. If so, this is interesting. He said that [184] the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter marriages now. I must check on this.

567 We got onto the census matter with the assistant. This led to some new points. He said that they do have slaves here and said that he would indicate them in the census, but I must never tell, as this is never mentioned although
842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like
583 to have many children here, and if they have many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently the more daughters the richer the family may become because of the bride prices. If the family consists of all boys, there is considerable trouble in getting enough goods for the bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said there is trouble often in getting the price and that men who can't marry on this account are not

We
842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter, they must be repaid.[1] The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a man buys a child, who then becomes one of his own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:

●582
595
1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is also a medicine man, and he is important in ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[1] [i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

We

624 342 592 554 534 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there are four households. The tuan tanah has a section to one side, since the old place in the rear, as in the round house, is impossible because the rear door is located there. He keeps the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan tanah house the drum house. These drums are important, as they are used in agricultural rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in the kampong here. I hear that there are some in kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kampong there is a tree (the Weol one died some time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather small). Around these trees (the assistant knows nothing of the significance of the tree) are placed stones. He says they have no magic power, but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there below the tree. In the cleansing of the kampong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.

178 582 614 [621] Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out of the clan. It is also possible to marry within or without the kampong, and the kampong usually consists of one clan. But even now one may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in special cases one might marry in, for example, if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there were other cases too. But since about fifty years ago endogamous marriages within the clan have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages are outside of the clan. The first case of clan endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember what trouble was caused if any. The assistant has heard tales of evil following such cases of endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

We

614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
● 582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 - Analyst]

We.

601 114
ema father, father's brother, mother's sister's husband.
nde mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.
amang mother's brother, father's sister's husband.
inang father's sister, mother's brother's wife.
empo grandparent.
weta sister, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.
kae older brother; ase--younger brother. Also father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.
kesah father's sister's son, mother's brother's son.
wina mother's brother's daughter, wife.
rona father's sister's son, husband.

114 582 583 565 614 597
Coolhaas[1] is all right on cross-cousin marriage, too. Only one of a set of brothers marries a mother's brother's daughter. Other brothers may not do so. In this event it can be any of the brothers, not only the eldest. But it is essential that one must and the others must not. However, if another brother wants to after one brother has, he must pay a horse in addition to the usual bride price. This is probably for a common man, and the extra price may be expected to be higher for a noble. This is done only if the father of the boy is unwilling to let him be adopted by another. The latter is another means to the same end. Thus, if the second brother wants to marry a mother's brother's daughter too, the father can let him be adopted by another man. However, the latter must be of another panga. Then the bride price is kept at the usual size.

114 582
Note an error in Coolhaas on page 348[1]? Two

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

114 brothers may not marry two sisters, as this is
●582 very much taboo. A man may marry two sisters,
[632] however. They agreed that Coolhaas' on marriage
114 rules of the dalu seems correct. As for the
582 folk, the rules indicate preferred clans, but
614 they say this is not too strong. Thus the
rule is that Weol men get wives from Manges, a
va'u and gelarang in the dalu Velak, to the
west, although not very far. It is about a one
day walk from here. However, this is not by
any means the method followed at all times, and
actually only about twenty-five per cent of the
women married in here are from Manges (Manges
is now called Regak). These were originally
from Lelak or Relak, which is a neighboring
gelarang to Weol. Thus it looks like a clan
localized in district terms with marriage rules
between clan-districts as in Woudens style. The
women of Weol usually marry men of Tjepang, the
clan which used to live in Weol also, when it
was a two-clan kampong, but who now have moved
down to Tjanjar. However, Tjepang is the name
of a kampong just to the west, also in the Velak
area. It looks as though the fact that Tjepang
[146] men married Weol women led to more and more
Tjepang men coming to live in Weol, until it
finally became half Tjepang. (Even now the
Ruteng folk who have houses in kampong Ndung
are mainly, if not all, men who have married
Ndung women, and the latter have gardens here
and so the men must come to live in their wives'
kampong.) I must get the marriage rules of
Ndung.

582 Men of Manges may not marry women of Weol.
614 And men of Weol may not marry women of Tjepang.
583 Thus it goes that Weol gives women to Tjepang,
but gets women from Manges. However, Tjepang
gives women to Lalong, and another clan gives
women to Manges. Bride exchange is taboo, which
582 is in line with the mother's brother's daughter
rule.

[See bibliography, cat. n3--Analyst]

582 rule. There is also a taboo on father's sister's daughter marriage.

(Lalong kampong is not far to the northeast from Weol.)

582 583 There may be a system here, but they are sure that it is not a mere three move thing like what we found in Larantuka. In fact, I asked about this, and they said that it was impossible (that is, for example, Weol women to Tjepang, Tjepang women to Lalong, and Lalong women back to Weol; this is impossible, i.e. the last move). In fact, there does seem to be a system, as he said even four moves is not possible, but five moves may be. Also, when I described the Larantuka figuring on how to get around the bride price by arranging a series of marriages, he said this type of talk is done here but that the price must always be delivered even though the books might balance in the long run. In Larantuka they can wait, but here they must make actual payment (though theoretically the same horses and buffaloes might some day come back to the original giver).

583 It is true that the bride price must be in horses, buffaloes, and money. The return gift is in women's ware, that is, pigs, cloth, and ornaments. In value, the women's ware return gifts are far less than the former. Coolhaas[1] [114] was wrong to assume that perhaps fowls were included in the return gift.

562 181 The assistant saw the point of a male-female dualism in the whole society, but he is not sure that it is entirely so. He agreed that it is a good hunch.

231 585 At the marriage feast they kill animals. Usually about ten pigs are killed and the normal custom does not include other animals.

114 585 565 The wedding rites described by Coolhaas (page 351)[1] are all right, but the amounts quoted are for the upper classes. The lowers have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

776 784 124 824 769

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

582 firm in stating that one had to marry within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up,
[567] but that a higher man may marry down for a second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not
[197] so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mere-schappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

000 bands under their knees formerly.

R Roworeke: On the next day we saw some pro-
•582 gress made in making out the census. There are a couple of cases of endogamy, but they are seven "layers" distant.

782 I asked about the oro pesangga, which Such-
telen says are offering posts set before each
346 house in Ende. They said that oro is merely a more polite word for ata, man. And pesangga means merely to stab. Thus it means only a man who stabs, i.e. the one who does the sacrifice. This is very unclear. I got no further with it. Perhaps it is only in the mountains.

The central offering post, tubu musu, mentioned by Suchtelen, is found in Roworeke Asal. I must see it. Suku Gusa has one in Wolowaru,
[361] the deserted kampong lama above here. There the original settlers were Odja and the Gusa folk came in later. Then they both moved down to the present Roworeke.

166 The Ende folk who live in the border areas
361 of Ndetu and Tana Ri are papalele, i.e., people
[441] who have no land generally but who buy and sell. They have mere huts to live in, and they come for awhile and then leave. However, many of them have been in their huts for four to five years, so all of them will be entered in the census. They are not full members of the kampong, and indeed are regarded as mere "people who have arrived."

632 The list of gemeente in Ende is as follows (and the proper spelling is Rewarangga):

1. Nggobe (town and inland).
2. Rodja (town and peninsula).
3. Rewarangga (five to eight kilometers).
4. Pulo Ende (island).
5. Rukuramba (km. 8 on the way to Badjawa).
6. Berai (km. 6 on the way to Badjawa).
7. Numba (km. 18 on the way to Badjawa).

[See p. 133 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

R

538 there are a few who are great story tellers.
533 Some stories are told with singing, i.e., real ballads, and may last as long as two days. The kapitan sang one for a bit, softly. They warmed up and began to appear to be quite proud of these songs. They insist, however that only a few are clever at these things.

[243] They tell such stories when the rice is ripe, and they may sit all night listening. Most of the stories are about the ancestors. Thus it is the free time--rice-ripe period as usual in Indonesia. This is the time for stories, when they have plenty of time. Perhaps this is also true in the post harvest season. Anyway they do have plenty of stories. And it is not only the old people who know them. For example, there is a rather young lad named Ero who is famous for chanting long stories. These sung stories are voi.

621 They are very clear about the location of
423 boundaries in the district, kampong, and sections of the kampongs, as well as in the gardens. Markers are stone posts, trees, streams, etc.

609 There are different grades of being a for-
621 eigner. The crux of the affair seems to be
[563] people who come from other islands. Thus, though the Sikka are outsiders, they are not foreigners to the same extent that the people from Kupang are. It is a bit hard to fit into a kampong if one is an outsider, although it can be done. The Ende papalele in the huts at the lower end of the kampong are still outsiders, although many have been there since the end of the war. They have few relations with the kampong folk, and there have been few if any marriages. The community is closed.

609 I asked about the teachers and found that the
● 582 Ndona one found it easy for two reasons: He
608 lives in Waturoga, which is in Lio, and also

R

609 has a friend-bond with the kampong of Ndona;
582 and he married a Waturoga woman. The Maumere
608 teacher has a somewhat harder time, but he married locally and this helps. (I think he married locally, although I am not sure now.)

632 In the district, the "pusat" kampongs are
624 Roworeke and Worowai. The latter is the older
621 and the kampong of the real prime suku, that
778 of the oldest of the original brothers, Rewarangga. There live three of the Big Four (mosa laki mere, ndetu au, and sikesani), and it is thus a sort of adat center. Roworeke is newer, and it is the administrative center, where the kapitan lives. Here also, however, is the big giri tumba. Formerly, these two were one kampong. In the kampong, the section or hamlet Roworeke Asal is the oldest, and there the grave-bone shrine of the Odja suku is located. It is the adat center. There also is the tubu musu. Nuamere means the big village, and this hamlet is where the kapitan lives. Thus it is the administrative center. Still, the ata nggaäh nua, the adat kepala kampong (Bapa Ketjil) and his adi, the administrative kepala kampong, live in Ae Utu (I think).

361 The present Nuamere was newly established
621 here in 1907. There had been a previous ham-
632 let Nuamere up the hill. The Dutch, however,
[648] as usual made most of the hamlets move down to the road. Thus there is a general pattern here that in each district there is a kind of original kampong, and in each kampong there is a sort of original hamlet. But it is not a constellation arrangement as in Toradja country, where all the kampongs and hamlets spread out from the center like a star. This is truer of the kampongs than of the districts, because the latter here are coming to be more and more a coming together of independent kampongs, some old and some younger. Thus

The Demon or
614 Ili Djadi are the original people here because
173 the Padji are gone. They also are found else-
621 where, and where they and the Padji are found
829 together, as in Adonara, they still fight.
[578] The constant murders there are partly caused by this endless feud. They never live in the same kampong together.

3. Sina Djawa. These are descendants of people who came from the west. There are suku here which came from there. Thus the suku Lewonuhah (kampong, island) of Leloba is of Sina Djawa. So is the suku Lewato of Wailolong.

4. Tenemau. These people came from the submerged island Kroko Putang. There are suku here from these people. Thus, Leworita suku
[769] of Wailolong is Tenemau. In the ceremony this morning the genealogy used to call the ancestors went back to the Tenemau. He says you can tell at once the origin of any suku by listening to the genealogies recited at the rites, because the ancestors are called.

582 Then we got onto the inter-kampong marriage
124 system, and this is not so complicated as the intra-kampong marriage system. I jokingly said that perhaps he got so tired figuring out the internal system that he decided to make the extra kampong rules simpler. He was amused. He also seemed amazed at the building-up process of anthropological research which I use; for example, when I first asked the names of the eight kampongs and then went right on to ask the names of the sons of Lenurat, he saw that
[791] I was getting directly at the system. He said that if the folk here heard me leading straight into the heart of the complete cosmogony they would think me a suwanggi. I also said jokingly that they couldn't call me a pontianak. He was also delighted with my admiration of how everything here falls into a system. He has learned
124 the word "sistim" and uses it all the time. He

War
124 has also adopted the term kekuatan adjaib, and loves it.

●582 The rules are as follows:
614

Wailolong man	marries	Leloba woman
I		II-2, III
II		II-2, III
III		I-2, I-3a, IV
IV		I-1, II-1
V		I-1a

Thus no man of Wailolong marries a Lewodoreng woman of Leloba.

Leloba man	marries	Wailolong woman
I-1a		V
I-1b		III
I-2		I
I-3a		?
I-3b		I
II-1		III
II-2		IV
III-1		IV, V
III-2		IV, V
III-3		IV, V
IV-1a		I-c
IV-1b		I-c
V-1		I, II
V-2		I, II

614 This brought out certain problems with the
565 material recorded earlier. The subsibs in each suku are ranked according to first, second, and in some cases third. The terms are waru'i, waktukang, and tuhowutung. These mean, approximately, first, middle and last. Now we see that certain suku, subsuku, and sub-subsuku names are of one kind and some of another, and some have two names showing different meanings. These

War

614
565
551

Wailolong to Bama because of troubles over marriage, bride prices, and perhaps others. They came back to Wailolong three generations ago, but although they were allowed into the kampong, they have lost their land and ritual standing. They marry like Ama Rere. It is remarkable to think that when the old people thinking what to do with these returned refugees decided to equate them with war captives!

II. Leworita (original kampong name) (function of Kelen).
   a. Suba (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).
   b. Harut (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).
   c. Tapopukang (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).

III. Ama Hurint
   a. Hadumboleng (personal name), Baka (personal name). (middle rank, Waktukang).
   b. Mari (personal name; rank No. 1, Waru'i).
   c. Mela (personal name; rank No. 3, Tuhowutung).

IV. Lewato (kampong name).
   a. Ama Waru'ing, also Ama Radja (the latter is the personal name of an ancestor).
   b. Ama Waktukang (just means middle; not a personal name).
   c. Tuhowutung (just means No. 3; not a personal name).

V. Lewodoreng (original kampong name).
   a. Ama Waru'ing (just No. 1 rank; not a personal name).
   b. Enga (a personal name; last rank, Tuhowutung).

614
582

On the records there is a case of a man of

War

582 614 IIIc marrying a woman of IIIa. This is something which happened two generations back when three men of IIIc married, for a high bride price, women of IIIa. However, this has been discontinued officially. The case did happen once, and it was definitely wrong. The assistant said it was incorrect. From the records I can see that there are very few endogamous marriages. The assistant says that they are a rare exception even today, although a few do it. It is wrong. The great bulk of the people here follow the rules strictly.

The suku Lewodoreng, in either Leloba or Wailolong, cannot marry with Lewonuhah. They are in a relationship of metemereng, i.e., older sibling--younger sibling. There is something to the elder--younger sibling business which constantly crops up here.

/622 [614] The three kepala kampongs in each kampong are called kepala kampong Kottang, kepala kampong Keleng, and kepala kampong Hurint. These should be the Radja Tuans of the three main suku, i.e., the kepala suku or tuan tanah. And some of them are. However, it may be that the radja tuan may not want the post of kepala kampong which he may have, and so he gives this job over to a relative, in every case I have heard of, to a brother. Thus Roy is Radja Tuan of Hurint in Leloba, but he has given the kepala kampong post to his younger brother. There may be other variations too. Thus Leloba has only a kepala kampong Keleng and a kepala kampong Hurint. The kepala kampong Keleng is also the brother of the Radja Tuan Keleng, who has given over the post to him. There is no kepala kampong Kottang in Leloba now because the Kakang of the gemeente was the occupant of this post formerly, and since he has been in the kakang post, his former post has not been filled.

582 614 177 578 797 I asked if there were many marriages between Wailolong and Leloba. He said that before there were many because they were allies and nearby. In 1912, however, when the Dutch came in, his father, who was the head man of Leloba, decided it was useless to fight. Wailolong, however, decided to resist. This strained the friendly relations which had existed before, and until recently there have not been too many marriages. I also wonder, inasmuch as he mentioned in this connection that missionaries entered the region in 1907, whether the more rapid Christianization of Leloba might not also have strained relations with the relatively resistant Wailolong.

124 177 578 123 609 After telling me that he was in fine spirits because my pyribenzamine had cured his asthma, he said he was also happy because he got such a fine reception in Wailolong when he went from house to house getting the census material. He had been afraid of this, and thought that the people would snub him. This would have made him much ashamed. This was also why he insisted that we get the kakang to order the Wailolong folk to give the information. Now he reports that he was received with open arms and that the Wailolong folk say they are delighted that a big man of Leloba is coming among them to work, and that also big men from the United States are getting their names and their customs down on paper. They said that they felt submerged for many years (and their kampong looks a bit dingy and dispirited) and that now they are having a rise. It looks to me as though Roy really feared a bad time, and this shows that the probable relations between these two communities were really distant until we came. We may have brought peace and good 609 will to the two kampongs. It is also amusing 123 to note his remark that when we first appeared,

War

578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed. Another cause was molesting a child if done by a neighboring kampong. There were also radja wars, in which the people served, but this was involved in high politics. Finally, there were also the early wars against the aborigines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church takes over this function). When a new korke is built, if the six posts do not fit into the rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are not happy because they are in need of food, so they are pledged food. Formerly the people then went out and got a head and hung it in the korke. Then everything was all right. Note that nowadays at such rites they give food to the posts. For example, yesterday they smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called sebua.!^

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that genealogical relationship is nearly everything here. It shows also why descent is the basis for the whole organization of power, etc., and why marriage rules are so complex and strongly held to. There have even been marriage relations with Riang Kamië, although they have not been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
602
621

!^[See cat. 116, f. 202 -- Analyst]

We
582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such
[438] links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

We.

665 The thought of a political career is absolutely absent. No one has it, not even the guru.

204 203 212 The one local paper, the mission bi-weekly "Bentara" (herald), is received by only one guru in Leloba and two guru in Wailolong. It is read by perhaps ten other individuals in each place. It is very important, as it is the only paper here. The people are now in the habit of asking the guru what is in the paper. Thus the word of mouth is the main vehicle, but the feeble paper is an important item. The only books here are school books and religious books. Adults read only the latter, and not for fun. However, they love stories, and he is sure that a library would be deluged with readers. Literate adults over thirty or forty are rare. Younger people are mostly literate. There is [207] no radio here at all.

●582 593 858 888 There have been no changes in the marriage system to speak of in the last half century. Roy says there have been few changes in the family either. I tried to ask if the children are less respectful or obedient now, but he said no. I tried to get this by the religious conflict, but he is adamant that it never split up families. Even here there was never a loss of respect for the elders, even though they were pagans and the children were Christians. And the elders, although their hearts were sick, never tried to force their children to follow them. They were just not violent. There was never a case of disowning. He said a parent would be ashamed forever if he had done so, and indeed it was quite unthinkable. They love children so much that, though they might try to talk with them, if a child remained firm always a child would get its will. The parents would be ashamed of any open or loud conflict. They might have troubled hearts, but that's all. Although they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

Wa

000 they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

584 762 The same story holds for marriage. If a child does not like his parent's choice of a mate, the marriage does not occur. There have been a few cases, however, of suicide (always by hanging) on the part of both men and women, because of desperate love and mismarriage. This is interesting, and if I have the time I will try to get these cases down.

582 835 614 178 The marriage system is the thing, and it is exogamous with complicated rules. There has been no change. Even the very few cases of endogamy have not increased. The only thing that has been modified is the fact that there is no longer an allowance of blood mother's 377 brother's daughter marriage. This is a Catholic taboo. This is true at least in Leloba, although I am not sure about Wailolong. They have to be careful to have fourth grade distance (that is, third cousins, via great grandparents). What the system allows is the choice of a mother's brother's daughter (that is, married into the suku of the man's mother) or married into one or two other suku of the ama linked with his suku by marriage. Thus a boy of Hurint Demong (the guru's may marry Belemang, Belepe Lolong A, or Waktukang Keleng. If his mother was Belemang, this would work out all right. In the old days, this would have been the best thing for him, that is, a girl of his mother's group (I want a girl just like the girl that married dear old dad). This is because of the good relations already, and anyway they like these close and reinforced linkages in suku relationships. It is not a matter of bringing back the tusks more rapidly, as one needs to make three moves anyway, and they can do this if they marry in any other group aside from the mother's. But, even in the old days, though this mother's brother's daughter

Wha.

582 marriage was preferred, it was not required, be-
198 cause the boy could also marry a girl of an en-
614 tirely different group from his mother's, for
835 example, Belepe Lolong A or Waktukang.

Nowadays, the easiest thing to do is merely to disregard the mother's brother's daughter stuff, as this requires care in observing that the relative must be at least a third cousin, and they marry in one of the other allowed groups. This is the leeway that the traditional system allows. When it is a question of close figuring, Roy says that they usually ask the priest to settle the situation for them. A good case of this was with the guru's son, who is now in Makassar. He was in love with a Belemang girl, but this was the ama of his grandmother, and the girl was his mother's brother's daughter--cousin via his grandmother, i.e., only a third degree relative. Therefore Roy went to the priest, and the latter (I suspect they are always indulgent in this matter if it is not a first cousin) said that if they were that desperate he would give a special dispensation (he uses a word for this that sounds like isin, but I must ask about this) (idjing). And so the boy was married. The way to do this correctly is for the boy to marry his mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's daughter. This is via the great grandparental generation. Note that it has to go up via women and down via men. This works out all right if one notes that under the mother's brother's daughter rule this brings the proper amas into the relationship (I may be wrong on this and must check on it later).

582 I was much impressed when he said that there
835 is a good reason for the Catholic rule. I had
827 tried to say that it is not in the Bible and
177 that Protestantism had not worked out this rule and yet they were Christians too, that the ancestors thought it was all right and indeed de-

We

582 sirable and that for hundreds of years the folk
835 had been doing this sort of thing (first cousin
827 marriages) without any ill effects, to counter
179 his saying that first cousin marriages caused poor offspring, for example, feeble-mindedness. He took this barrage with polite resignation, but said that he had seen plenty of bad cases of close inmarriage children. The probability is that there is some inbreeding chance of recessives coming out, at least enough to use this argument of rationalization, and surely the priests have played up this "scientific" justification. It is interesting, however, that he uses the pseudo-rational explanation and not the appeal to divine authority, which would at once raise the issue of the wrongness of a strong pagan rule.

562 The next day, our last, was a half day, as
887 I had to get to Maumere in order to get Kattenburg on the place to Makassar. At the end of the session we had lunch with the two guru, and the younger daughter served. Then I found out that in every house the oldest woman is the nu'a luka rumah tangga, paralleling the ritual functions for the women of the nu'a luka suku and the nu'a luka ama. The mother is in Makassar, and the eldest daughter is in the hospital, so this one acted as the server. The nu'a luka is important here, as she directs everything in regard to cooking and eating and also for caring for small animals, weaving, etc. She is the household manager. In this poor area food division is especially important.

127 I looked up the 1930 census material in the report of the Controleur then and found the following:

We

	Male	Female	
127 162 Watuwiti	127	124	
Mudakaputu	128	123	
Laneda	143	167	
Riang Kanale	107	114	
Lewohala	286	285	
Riang Kamie	430	427	
Wailolong	290	288	
Leloba	272	298	
Totals	1783	1823	3606

The Christians then totaled 1973.

133 Ili Mandiri is at an elevation of 1501 meters, the highest around here.

582 Wailolong intermarries with all of the other seven kampongs, a bit more with those which are near than with those which are farther away. 621 578 During the period after the Dutch entered (1912) there were practically no marriages with Leloba, because Wailolong was sore that Roy's father would not fight the Dutch. (The present enmity of Roy against the Dutch may be delayed reaction to this.) Since then, there has been more intermarriage, but extra-kampong marriage is relatively rare. Roy estimates that not more than ten per cent of the cases are extra-kampong marriages. This holds for both sexes.

591 583 If a man lives matrilocally (which is optional if no bride price is paid, or if the bride price is paid only in part), he keeps the privileges he has in his own kampong, but he works for his food with his father-in-law in the latter's kampong.

If the bride price is not paid, he may live in either kampong, and this is merely something which has to be agreed upon. Roy says that about half of such marriages follow patrilocal residence and about half matrilocal residence.

War

611 However, all children are descended patrilineally.
583 That is, there is no ambil anak here. In any
614 case, the bride price must be paid eventually.
591 It may even take two generations to do this, but the debt is remembered and the books must finally be balanced. This eventuates as follows: If a man can't pay with tusks, he pays with a daughter. It may be any daughter, the first, second, or later daughter. If the man has no daughters, the debt remains and must be paid someday. But, she does not become a member of her mother's sib. She remains a member of her father's sib and marries as though she were a full member of it. That is, all that happens is that when she marries, her price goes to her mother's sib. This is a very peculiar arrangement, and it is purely for monetary reasons. The sons are called anak suku. The daughters are called anak gading ("elephant-tusk children"). Thus the price of a woman is either tusks or a daughter. The daughter who is given for the price may live matrilocally or patrilocally, depending on where her parents live.

● 582 There are some marriages between Wailolong
621 and other districts. Roy can think of cases
614 with Lewotala, Wolo, and Lewinga, and he thinks there are others. I asked him how they figure the marriage rules in such cases. He said that if there were already suku there which corresponded to those in the kampong, the situation was easily resolved. If previous marriage relations existed between the two areas, it is also a simple matter to figure out the marriage relations. If no previous marriage relations exist, it is easy to figure out anyway, as none of the rules applies. Thus Roy's brother married a girl from Roti whom he met on his travels. This was no problem, as she was far outside the
582 pattern area. What usually happens, however, is
584 that a boy, for example, sees a girl at the

We.

582 584 Larantuka market and likes her. He finds that she is from, for example, Lewotala. Then he tells his father, and the latter goes there and asks "whence her blood." If the relationship is not close, or there is a relationship but they figure it out to be all right, then they go ahead with arrangements (how these people work at their rules!) Anyway, when [583] they marry outside the area of the local pattern, they must pay a higher bride price in order "to fix it up." Thus, this is not the right thing to do, and it requires the same kind of thing in a way as a breach of exogamy. In a way, it is a breach of endogamy, in a sense that one should marry within the "adat belt."

"The Ordered World of Ili Mandiri."

582 621 Roy says that he believes that if more people traveled outside of the area there would be more marriages outside of the area. This might, I think, lead to a final confusion of the rules. To keep such a complex scheme going they have to keep the marriages from going out of bounds, where the rules are off. If the rules get far enough off they may go out of vogue.

Marriages outside of East Flores are very [484] rare, and only in a few cases has this happened. They have been local men who have traveled outside, for example, the few soldiers.

[609] There is not a single case of a marriage with foreigners.

582 178 The average marriage age used to be older. It might be even thirty or thirty-five for men. Now it tends to be anything over eighteen for girls and anything over twenty for boys. They still have the feeling against too early a marriage. They say that if the couple are too young, it is not good as the children will not be so healthy and it will not be too good for the health of the parents. Young people can marry more easily today because the children

Wbc

582 178 become competent earlier. They learn to work earlier now. Roy[1] says that the school helps in getting them trained at an earlier age and they begin to weave and do other tasks sooner.

836 178 684 I jumped on this to see if there was much premarital sex, and he said that it was extremely rare. He said that as far as this is concerned there has not been much change. I pressed, and Kattenburg got the kepala kampong aside and tried to pump him. They remained adamant, however. It is just very rare. Even when a man is not married until he is thirty-five, they claim he does not engage in sexual promiscuity. [578] There is no prostitution here and none in Larantuka either. And anyway, they never go anywhere where they might get girls. There are very strong taboos on premarital sex. (He said that the girls would lose their name, which indicates that it has happened, perhaps.)

584 836 But there is an exception which came out when he told of two ways to get married. These are the two: (1) Prearranged and regular marriages. This type counts for most cases. (2) Boy likes girl and begins to hang around her house at night. He slips a cloth or something into her sleeping place and she asks who is there. He tells, and if she doesn't like him she tells him to go away. If she is willing to talk, they talk, and this may go on at night for as long as five years. If a girl has several such suitors, she sends all except one away, and he keeps on having dates. Perhaps the parents do not find out about this, or perhaps in singing and gossip it comes out that they are "going together." At this point a marriage may be arranged. Or, and here comes in the premarital sex practices, the girl may at least let the boy in and they have sexual intercourse. As soon as her parents discover them, marriage must take place. (Also, I suppose, if she be-

[1] [i.e. the assistant --Analyst]

Wae.

832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were willing to hear a request, but it had to be done through regular channels without chiseling. ("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

●582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If either is older it is better for a boy to be a bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad, even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me that other Christians do this. It is simply that they do not get the sacramen for the second, or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wai-
513 lolong slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
[346] sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[614] but to the cult houses).A I think he said that this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was not required, but they just did it. This took place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing, discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically a rule, and I wonder what they would have said if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

A [See cat. 111, p. 166 -- Ana 45]

R

771 families which are split (e.g., Migo has Mohammedan relatives, including a hadji) talk very little about religion except for such things as how was the trip to Mecca, etc.

582 797 This led to the matter of marriage. Migo said that there might be trouble with religious differences in marriage, but there had not been much fuss yet. There are two or three cases of Catholic men who became Mohammedan in order to marry Mohammedan girls. There is no case yet of a Mohammedan becoming a Catholic in order to marry.

This led to a discussion of a case where a Catholic married a pagan. Usually the pagan agrees to a church wedding, but there are some cases where the pagan will not agree, and then they just live together.

595 183 Then I got some real data: There are Catholic men who have two wives. They marry the first wife in the church, and just live with the second. The second wife is often a pagan. Thus the kepala kampong has a second wife, and she is the young beauty who was among the crowd who got into the jeep one time going to Ende. I tried to speak to her, but she was wide-eyed and said nothing. She looked like a wild animal. She is illiterate and one hundred per cent pagan. Thus he admitted that there are still young pagans (are they mostly men or women?). She was perhaps twenty years old. I asked if the pastors nag about this, and he said no. Evidently the pastors are not concerned about these people. They just preach that it is not right (but evidently they go easy on such cases, because they are afraid that they might turn some of the individuals against the church. Thus, how could they excommunicate the kepala kampong?) As for the children of mixed pagan-Catholic marriages, he said that there are some arguments. Evidently, here again the whole level is so low that it does not amount to much.

R

601 A man calls his father's brother's son and mother's sister's son "brother"; but calls his father's sister's son and mother's brother's son "brother-in-law." The term for the former also means "sister's husband," and the same term means, in the latter application, "wife's brother."

[582] Thus the terms check out exactly for mother's brother's daughter marriage, and even to the specific application to siblings-in-law as appears from the following:

sister-in-law	ari, ka'e (man speaking); ipa (woman speaking
brother-in-law	edja (man speaking); ari, ka'e (woman speaking)
wife's brother	edja (man speaking)
wife's sister	ari, ka'e (man speaking)
husband's sister	ipa (woman speaking)
husband's brother	ari, ka'e (woman speaking)
brother's wife	ari, ka'e (man speaking); ipa (woman speaking)
sister's husband	edja (man speaking); ari, ka'e (woman speaking)
father-in-law	ada (man speaking) aki no'o (woman speaking) (means "no'o-punya aki" or "father's sister's husband")
mother-in-law	ine tu'a (man speaking); no'o (woman speaking) (means "father's sister")
mother' brother's wife	ine tu'a or hai ada (man speaking); hai ada (woman speaking) (hai ada means "ada-punya hai" or "mother's brother's wife")
father's sister's husband	aki no'o (man speaking) (means "no'o-punya aki"

R

601

	mother's brother's son (woman speaking), brother (woman speaking)
veta	father's brother's daughter (man speaking), father's sister's daughter (man speaking), mother's sister's daughter (man speaking), sister (man speaking)
edja	father's sister's son (man speaking), mother's brother's son (man speaking), wife's brother (man speaking), sister's husband (man speaking)
ipa	father's sister's daughter (woman speaking), mother's brother's daughter (woman speaking), husband's sister (woman speaking), brother's wife (woman speaking)
hai	mother's brother's daughter (man speaking), wife, woman
aki	father's sister's son (woman speaking), husband, man
hai ada	mother's brother's wife (man speaking or woman speaking)
ine tu'a	mother's brother's wife (man speaking), mother-in-law (man speaking)
aki no'o	father's sister's husband (man speaking or woman speaking), father-in-law (woman speaking)
ambu	grandparent
ambu ata aki	grandfather
ambu ata hai	grandmother

582
835 I can find no flaw in the system. It is exactly right for mother's brother's daughter marriage. And they say this is the right thing. Nowadays, there is some trouble with the church, and they have, canonically, to go up three generations to get the proper hai or aki (that is, mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's daughter;

R

582 or father's father's father's sister's daughter's
835 daughter's son). However, the priests will give dispensation only with a certain amount of fuss here (unlike in Manggarai, where it is evidently easier because the Catholics are newer there and maybe they want to go slower at first).

583 A bride price must be paid for a good marriage, but the very poor folk may omit it, although they try to pay a little, and merely go and live together. The price is variana. Formerly it included tusks, money, animals (buffaloes, horses, cattle). They try to give these things now, but it is degenerating into money alone. The return gift is called tau laguana. The girl's family gives it. It usually includes properly a pair of gold earrings, gold beads, and formerly slaves. The price also formerly might have included slaves, I think. In addition, the girl's family gives a kind of "household outfitting" to the couple, including baskets, gear, food, and formerly slaves. This is like a dowry. Evidently it is also called laguana.

They say that if they did not give a return gift it would be like selling a slave.

[797] The church enforced a shift to more distant mother's brother's daughter type marriages.
[178] The price is much lower now, and this constitutes a big change in the last fifty years or
[565] so. In the old days, for a noble girl one might pay one hundred tusks, ten gold units, two slaves, etc. This depended on her rank.

582 Another change is the removal of the former
178 taboo on slave-noble marriages. In the old days,
565 an upper man might take as a concubine a slave
567 girl, but they seem pretty sure that he would
684 not ordinarily marry her, although he might do so. In the old days, however, if a slave man tried anything with a noble girl, it would mean that both of them would be put to death. This

R

582 has long since been tabooed by the government.
178 Nevertheless, I wonder if there is not a re-
565 luctance to marry a slave descendant. They
684 say that there used to be plenty of slaves
567 here and that they were obtained mainly by war.

583 They say that the Mohammedans have just
184 about given up the bride price here, but that the Christians keep it up firmly. This is another example of the greater conservatism in some ways which the Christians demonstrate.

I wonder also if what a priest says may not be true: that the Catholic church has decided that the bride price is a good idea, as it solidifies the marriage bond, and why drive it out?

585 As for changes in the wedding procedure,
583 Migo gave me first the way a pagan marries today and the way everyone married formerly:

First the intermediaries sound out the girl's parents. If all is O.K., the parents get together and decide on the price. The wedding starts with the boy, with his best man, going to the house of the bride, and there her family kills a pig. The girl and her bridesmaid and the boy and his best man eat the pig or part of it that evening, and then the couple have their first sex relations in the girl's house. The next morning the boy goes home taking what is left of the pig and gives it to his family. That day he returns to the girl's house with his best man, leading a goat. This is presented to the girl's family and they eat it. That evening, the girl's family again kills a pig, and the four eat part of it and then the couple sleep together again. The next morning the boy goes home taking the remains of the pig to his family. He then returns with another goat and gives it to the girl's family. That evening a third pig is killed and the four eat of it and the pair sleep together. The next morning the

R

585 is to get the outfit ready. The outfit is
583 provided by the girl's family. Then they go
178 to the boy's house to settle down. This represents a big change. Elopement was never an established custom here, and it does not exist today. Formerly, marriages were arranged, and the girls and boys simply obeyed. Nowadays, the young are consulted, but there is still plenty of prearranged marriage.

582 Sib exogamy is still favored in the majority,
614 by far. Formerly, this rule was very strong.
621 There are a few cases of endogamy with distant relatives, but not many. Formerly this never took place. Most marriages are inside the kampong. The only frequent exception is marriage with Watu Roga, across the street. There are plenty of marriages with Wanda suku, the main one there. Indeed, with the mother's brother's daughter arrangement, and so many Odja-Wanda marriages, it is just about a regular thing. Of course, however, there are plenty of Wanda people living in Roworeke too.

An extra-district marriage is very rare, except for Watu Roga, which happens to be in Lio, which is even in a different radjadom, although it is just across the street.

582 The average age for men at the time of mar-
178 riage is about twenty-five. Today, for women, the average age is twenty-one. And they insist that in the old days the average ages were much older. They said it was usual for a man to be well over thirty, and many women were thirty-five at the time they got married. The kapitan said that they "aged" much slower than they do today. He said that he didn't even have clothes until he was very old, relatively speak-
836 ing. I asked about virginity under these conditions, and he said that all women stayed virgins until they were married. If a husband found that his wife was not a virgin today, he would

R

836 be very angry, and I think he said that he might kill her. As for the men, he says that the situation may be different, as there were easy women in the kampong, that is, for example, widows whom a boy might get. Thus, it seems that unlike remote Wailolong and Leloba, the boys tended to get some sex experience premaritally, but the girls were regularly virgins until marriage. The same situation exists today, he says. I guess there is little doubt that this is outside the free premarital belt.

582 178 Probably as astonishing a thing as I have seen in regard to marriage here is the younger age which they say now prevails everywhere. They are sure of this, and indeed they shout it out. This is a real and deep change.

124 123 181 Today the old mother of the kapitan sat with us, and had our questions translated for her. Also, there was a decent old lad there. He understood Malay and seemed to speak it too. He was middle-aged. There was the usual impolite talking while I tried to talk, and looking at the clock, even ringing the alarm at noon. And the secretary is as bad as the others. Then at the end, after I had heard enough in Endenese to know that they had been talking of it all the way through, the kapitan comes up to me and asks me to get a tanda mata (souvenir) for him too, that is, a briefcase. I said I would try to get one in Batavia as there was no place to get a good one here, but they have evidently talked that over and do not trust me, as he said, "Why not get one in the toko here and give it to me?" Then the secretary said on the way out that a good one for the kapitan would be the kind of zipper bag I carry. They are impolite, and so stupid that they think they can delude me. They have no shame, and they are crafty. They constantly pass around my cigarette case, obviously considering whether they might ask for one of those too.

R

581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 [848] They insist that there is not one case of a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on this is considered a terrific thought.

177 797 595 587 582 In the family the Catholics have tried to stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2) levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3) mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 753 [565] In regard to the nobility, I can get no reaction on ideas of magic power, and they say that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

R

789 unfulfillment of ancestral duties can cause ill-
753 ness too (note the illness fear theme; this is just right for these folk who are ill a good deal of the time). But there is no real kekuatan adjaib here.

567 There were many slaves here before, and this
● 582 applies even to twenty years ago (this is
178 probably a bit too late, I think). The regular
565 thing was for the father of a girl to include
[583] in the return gift at marriage, two slaves (like the "and two persons" still used in the formula for the bride price among the Buginese). There are slaves in the kampong now, but he thinks that only about two to three per cent of the population are so categorized. They are, and were, taken into the suku, but formerly there was little intermarriage with them, and then it was only between a higher man and
[684] a slave girl. If the reverse took place, the death punishment could be meted out. The marriage taboo is still in, but it is lessening, and even a boy of slave descent (if he is an excellent man and a good worker) may marry a higher girl. However, they are well known, and in general are still to be classed underneath. For example, they have to do certain duties (the guru said they are like "servants"; he used the Dutch word "jongens"). They live in houses with regular people, or perhaps in their own houses. Everyone knows who they are, but no mention is made of this because they reportedly get furious. This is a thing worth investigating further: exactly what are the duties, and exactly how are they thought of and what do they think of themselves, etc.? (Remember that in the United States no one really thinks of taunting Negroes with an open charge of being descended from slaves.)

565 There are few possibilities for class mo-
555 bility. There are some meager beginnings at

114 The island is fascinating for pure ethnography, as I always expected. I am tempted every time I look at the map to take time off and go into 491 those far hills. The entire northwest half of Flores has no roads except for the Reo-Ruteng one, and here would be good territory. The 793 priests know a lot, and really should be mobilized for an ethnographic survey. And many of them, for example Mommersteeg,[1] would like it. 103 The kapitan insists that the proper name is 114 Tanah Djea, and indeed this is a town to the north of Nangapanda. Maybe the old authors confused dj with r.[2] [pastor at Todabelu --Analyst]

As for Wolowai, which Wouden[3] (check his source and track this down!) says is reported to be matrilineal, there is a place to the north of Nangapanda in the hills (thus in Tanah Rea part of Ende shown on the Bruine[3] map) so named. This is Wolowai and it is in Ende. I wouldn't be surprised to find any kind of social R organization in this island! What a place to do 614 a real survey. I asked about a few other things in Roworeke. I made a final try to get a circulating scheme out of the suku here, knowing 582 that they have mother's brother's daughter marriage. I thought I had something when the assistant started off saying that an Odja man should take a Gusa woman, and that a Rewarangga suku man should take a Wanda woman. But right away it broke down, as the assistant himself, an Odja, married a Wanda, and his son will marry a Wanda, he says, in line with mother's brother's daughter marriage. Also, Bapa Ketjil, an Odja, married a Rewarangga. So what? He seemed to think that perhaps once it went like this:

Men	married	Women
Odja		Gusa
Gusa		Some other
Some other		Odja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]
[2] [probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

Men	married	Women
614 Djawa		Some other
● 582 Rewarangga		Wanda
Wanda		Some other

At all crucial points, he doesn't know! But he does say that once it was not allowed to marry in the suku. And he also says that a daughter must not marry into her father's suku (and yet I am sure there are some cases), while a son by preference should marry into his mother's suku. He also says that if once one marries into a suku, the sons should continue this custom. This is why he says his son should marry into his wife's suku. Thus clearly we have mother's brother's daughter preference, and father's sister's daughter taboo. And they seem to have some memory of a regular circulating scheme so based. However, the system has broken down, and so has the exogamy to some extent (but my guess is that the records will show few if any endogamous marriages). The trouble is, I had no time to ask or rather have him investigate how many of the present marriages of men are with women of their mother's suku. I will try to do a little detective work from the records. Because of the Hebrew "bin" [551] system of names, I may be able to spot father and son. Anyway, I may be able to see whether there is any pattern to the suku marriage choices of the men.

114 I pulled out of Ende for the last time on January 21, and had a difficult time getting across the Nangaba, which is still in flood. With pushing, I made it. The motor stalled on me, as it is filty. It was a long day across to Ruteng, but I had no further trouble.

We Weol: 124 I started the last stretch of a week here on January 23, on Tuesday. I went to the

We
124 kampong, Tjantjar, and there the guru and the other person and a pastor from Maumere were found. The guru had received no letter from van Bekkum, and was afraid to start work until he had it. Also, there was an inspection of schools today. I got angry, and threatened to leave the place. Then we decided to go to Ruteng to van Bekkum, and when there it turned out that the latter had sent the leave papers to Pau, the guru's kampong, one-half kilometer from the mission, but it never reached there, or something happened. Anyway, we finally got things straightened out and we began work at the pasanggrahan. Tomorrow I will be at Weol.

We started by inspecting the records, which, though they have been filled out, have many holes. His map is good, but needs touching up. I don't know yet how his answers are. As for the questionnaire, I got as far as the end of the Weol names, but not onto the Ndung names. The following are some of the holes:

592 1. In exactly which houses do the various
● 582 households live? There are only six houses in
595 Weol (nine houses in Ndung). Incidentally, I note much polygamy. The kepala kampong has six wives. There are plenty of extra-kampong marriages, as there must be if there is kampong exogamy. But there are some endogamous va'u marriages. So far there are no endogamous panga marriages. Each house has a tu'a mbaru, and if in a house there is a tu'a panga he is also the tu'a mbaru. But there is one house, that of tu'a tenu, which has the latter for the tu'a mbaru, but there is another tu'a panga therein. There are tu'a mbaru who are not tu'a panga.

2. Religion is not noted.

565 3. The assistant did not note the class and clan and totem of those who married into the kampong, who were mostly women, but some were

We

601 does so. So much for the kinship system.

273 769 778 Then, incidentally, he said that an indispensable item at each sacrifice must be palm wine (tuak). Even if they have to travel for some distance to get some (and it is hard to get in the Veol area, as not much is made locally), they must do so; and the reason is that the stone, which is the central point of all rites, must have a libation poured over it. The ancestors are explicitly called, and then the tuak is poured over the stone as though into the mouth of a person which the stone is. Thus I think these stones are the ancestors. They are real idols. Note that the Vatu Veol, and the removed Ine Amba too, are, (or were) in human form. I think that perhaps the popularity of statues in Java after the Hindu influx may have been due to the pre-existence of human form stone images. The point is, in this libation business, the stones are treated as though they were really human.

582 578 835 [753] In regard to the mother's brother's daughter or tungku marriage, this was formerly required, at least for one son. He might be forced brutally into such a marriage if he was reluctant. It should be the eldest son too. If this is not done, the family may be afflicted with illness. And it is wicked anyway. This rule still holds, although force is no longer used to back it up. A good case is that of the assistant himself. He didn't like his mother's brother's daughter, as he said, "she lived in the house" (what psychological overtones are there here?). So he refused, and married his wife. However, he has two other brothers, who are still unmarried, and his whole family is watching anxiously until one of them marries the mother's brother's daughter. He says that they talk about this all the time. It is true that they are still pagan. His father indeed

We

582 has several wives. (This shows the recency of
578 conversion here. Here is this smooth and smart
835 lad, almost sophisticated, one who could get along almost anywhere in the world, whose father is a completely benighted heathen. He says that the family will be torn apart if one of the sons
835 does not marry the mother's brother's daughter.)

582 Then I asked what happens to the Catholics.
797 He said that usually they are given isin (dis-
[189] pensation), but the priests do not like it at all. However, he saw the point when I said that after all it was only one brother in a family who had to get the dispensation, and so maybe the church would not be too worried.

This led me to a speech, and I think the point was not bad, and perhaps the priests
[182] think of it. If they destroy the mother's brother's daughter marriage, the whole social organization falls apart, as this is the keystone all over Flores (and all through this part of Indonesia, I think). If they do this, perhaps the adat will fall apart and cause a breakdown of all the good rules, from the Catholic viewpoint. However, perhaps the reason is more realistic, i.e., it is hard to get converts if they make it too hard on the old adat.

Anyway, they can use the three generation up and three generation down dodge to get a classificatory mother's brother's daughter and keep up the old system.

583 Then we got onto the records again and ran
591 into some trouble. But before that I note that No. 167 is a girl who lives with her father's sister. She may well be already spoken for and even paid for, for the son of the latter. There is a son of nearly the same age there.

There are several families in the kampongs of outside origin in the case of both spouses (46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65). There are several men in Ndung

565 614 (3) There are one hundred per cent kraeng va'u, e.g., Puruk.

(4) There are one hundred per cent dalu va'u, e.g., Rahong.

(5) There is a radja va'u, of kraeng rang, i.e., Todo.

174 621 565 634 648 The history may be something like this:

(1) Originally, and until about three hundred years ago: the gelarang tuan tanah district chiefs were in, with kampong ramifications.

(2) About three hundred years ago until 1900: the period of Todo-Pongkor kraeng conquest, with also some Makassarese rule from the north (Goa) and Bima rule also.

(3) 1909--1929: Dutch rule without radja.

(4) 1929--1941: Dutch rule with radja.

(5) 1941--1949: Japanese, and later Dutch influence, the latter putting in the East Indonesian negara.

(6) 1949-- : The new Indonesia, with the Dutch gone, but the radja still here, as well as the dalu and the kraeng.

The only real power still alien in this area is that of the Todo-Pongkor kraeng (radja). What will happen?

582 614 I checked over the marriages in Veol and Ndung, but the assistant will get the va'u of the inmarrying women. However, it looks as though there is no pattern. Looking only at the kampongs whence the inmarriers came, I can find just about no system; the twenty-seven women who married men of Veol came from twenty different kampongs (highest frequency was three). The four men who married women of Veol and came here to live are from three kampongs (highest frequency two).

The twenty-nine women who married men of Ndung came from twenty kampongs (highest frequency four: Tjumbi; another three: Tjara).

The nine men who married women of Ndung and

We

582 614 came here to live came from eight kampongs (the highest frequency two).

Among those couples both of whose mates came from outside, there were four in Veol. Of these the men came from three kampongs (highest frequency two), and the women came from four kampongs. All of these kampongs were different except for the two men from Leko. There were fourteen such couples in Ndung. Of these, the men came from nine kampongs (the only frequency above one was six men from Tjumbi. The women came from thirteen kampongs and the highest frequency was two.) These were fairly well scattered overall, but showed more similarities than Veol.

Of all the outsiders in Veol (i.e., inmarriers) and Ndung, the highest frequencies are as follows:

	Veol	Ndung	Total
Tjumbi	1	11	12
Leko	4	3	7
Poka	4	0	4
Taga	3	0	3
Leda	3	0	3
Maras	0	3	3
Ndehes	0	3	3
Meler	0	3	3
Tjoal	0	3	3
Teras	2	0	2
Dalo	2	0	2
Pasa	2	0	2
Pau	2	0	2
Tjara	0	2	2
Totals	23	28	51

These are only the highest frequencies, and there is a great deal of scatter. It looks as though there is no pattern at all. This ruins

We

582 614 the previous talk of the tuan tanah that there are preferred clans. I will clinch this when I get the va'u membership of the inmarriers.

The next day I started in on some more question in regard to social organization.

[103] 346 Note that the name of the kampong below is Tjantjar, not as I have spelled it above [Tjantsia]. I went there halfway through the morning as I heard drums and gongs. There were girls (looking very Hawaiian) sitting on the porch of the house next to the new one of the tuan tanah now being built. The timbers are up. It will be a rectangular house, although the one it replaces was round (I made a photo of the latter only a month ago, which shows how fast the old type is vanishing). The drums and gongs were being beaten because this is necessary when a new tuan tanah house (rumah gong-gendang) is being built.

346 533 776 824 [562] There were several drums and several gongs (and I found that each tuan tanah house has several of each). They must be beaten all the time, with short pauses, and the girls take turns. The men may help too (for garden beating, only men may play the instruments). This has to go on all the time while the big house is being built. The reason is that the wood (always spirit-ridden here) must be constantly kept pacified and told that it is being used for a great purpose, a big house. For ordinary houses this is not necessary. (I wonder if the idea is also in order to get the wood used to being in a rumah gong-gendang?) Before the trees are cut for the wood, they are told that they are being cut for a high purpose. Each grove of trees has a local spirit called darat. These are tree spirits. The generic word for spirit is ro.

778 776 824 I notice each day on my way here that there is a grove of fine trees standing isolated on a

614 in Tjantjar. These people came from West Manggarai, the Boleng area, perhaps one hundred years ago and settled in Veol. About twenty years ago they moved down to this formerly empty place and founded Tjantjar. Although it is not a Veol va'u kampong, it is a kampong tjabang of Veol, and the tuan tanah here, although he is of the Tjepang va'u, has his drums and gongs from the Veol tuan tanah. There is not a single Veol va'u member in Tjantjar, but it is plenty mixed otherwise. Thus there are several Pau families, perhaps ten in all, including the assistant. The Tjantjar people are about thirty per cent of the population, a plurality.

● 582 I asked about the percentage of marriages which were tungku (mother's brother's daughter). He will try to ask in Veol about this later, but I asked how many cases there were among his acquaintances. First he said only about ten per cent. Then I asked how many among the families he knows in his own kampong, Pau, had at least one mother's brother's daughter marriage among the sons. He said of the thirty he knows, about twelve. This is a higher percentage. Indeed, however, it is not usually more than about thirty per cent, as it couldn't be, for only one son in a family may marry in this fashion (except by exception), and the average number of sons is perhaps three. Formerly, just about every family had at least one son married in the mother's brother's daughter way, but now this is less true. Formerly the eldest son was forced to do it, because it was proper for the mother's brother's daughter marriage to be carried out by the eldest son. In default of such a marriage, another son could do it, for example, the assistant hasn't done his duty, but his father is afraid that one of the other two won't. Both the assistant's and his wife's fathers married

We

582 mother's brother's daughters; they were the eldest sons of their respective families. Perhaps this shows that formerly this was just about an invariable rule.

582 178 The reasons why several do not do it today are: (1) the church taboo (but they can get dispensation), (2) absence of a mother's brother's daughter of the proper age, (3) refusal of a son to marry a mother's brother's daughter or of a girl to marry father's sister's son because of a lack of affection, and (4) propaganda via education (I think it is this, but he says "government") that inbreeding is bad (this is possibly a neat trick of the church, which can insert this into the schools and thus beat down the mother's brother's daughter rules indirectly.)

614 773 784 I got onto totemism and origin legends. The Veol folk must clearly be the original people here, because they came out of bamboo right on this spot. The Pau va'u original ancestors came out of a stone which still stands in the kampong Pau. It is more than a meter high, flat on top, and is called vatu Pau.

Cornelius's wife's va'u came from Rintja Island. The va'u is called Manong.

Radjong va'u (kampong Radjong in East Manggarai) also origirated out of a stone which is there now and is called vatu Radjong. Another va'u set of ancestors was born of a buffalo and therefore its members cannot eat buffalo.

If the totem is an animal (i.e., ancestors came from animals), the members of that va'u cannot eat the ancestral animal. If a va'u came from a tree, its members today cannot use that wood. If a va'u is from a stone, they simply must keep and cherish the stone.

The Veol taboos are three: (1) bambu belang: because the ancestors came therefrom; (2) the lusa bean: I don't know why yet, but I will

War

721 578 614 were traditional enmities to some extent between dalu. For example, Ruteng was against Tjibal. Rahong usually helped Ruteng. Tjibal had allies too.

When there was a Todo war against Pongkor, the dalu here often entered, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

There are plenty of stories about the old wars. Thus there is the Prang Kuvu (that was against the Dutch near here); Prang Lait (against Bima, at a place near here); Prang Vake (Pongkor against Todo, and the dalus here entered), etc.

621 614 602 [423] There are definite borders here, and the people are quite sensitive about them. These exist between the dalu, gelarang, and kampongs. They are marked by stones, mountains, rivers, etc.

In every gelarang there is a central kampong, for example, Veol and branches. Only one va'u per gelarang is the original va'u. There can't be two. Each dalu has kampongs under direct dalu rule. Some dalu (e.g., Rahong) had kampongs directly under Todo or Pongkor. Aside from the va'u relations, the vina-rona (mother's brother's daughter or affinal) relationship is important. In this mutual help is expected. Thus the pattern of one's own clan and the clan of affinity (and, I suppose, by extension this, could work out to a circle of the Wouden type)[1] is found here.

614 582 However, I get nowhere with the regular marriage class system here. Nevertheless, the old tuan tanah said that there was a preferred clan, Mungges. It does not show in the record of the marriages, however. He will get the clans of the women for me.

756 789 Note: he misunderstood the "magic" here, and says that the mbako could and can make a drink or amulet, etc., to make a man strong, and such is used in war.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

533 797 [562] school is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] [611] price and make the return gift. If a bride price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

[i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

We

476 602 614 [585] to obtain the bride price, but also in such cases as the building of a new big house. The va'u helps with the costs of a wedding feast. The rona get animals for their women, and the vina give animals for theirs. The return gifts go in the opposite direction: the rona give the gifts and the vina receive them.

I get the impression that there is more to it than just this simple roundabout exchange. Thus, a family has several relations of rona and vina, and the same ones will not always be involved in a given marriage. The ones not directly involved evidently help out, or can be called upon to help in a marriage in which they are not directly involved. But this is not too clear to me. Cornelius[1] says that the whole thing is quite a burden, as when they are called upon they must give this aid. The nearer the groups live, the more they are called upon. If they are far off, this is not too much of a burden.

582 563 There are no marriages here with foreigners, but in other places a few Manggarai women have married Chinese men. These are definitely not liked. They are "lost." They are outside the adat and the magic circle.

582 291 178 At the time of marriage, local males are sixteen (some are fifteen to twenty-one years old. The majority fall within the age groupings sixteen to seventeen. Females, at the time of their marriage, are fourteen to twenty years old. Formerly they married later. The youngest was about nineteen (I think this was for males). He says that this was because they "got clothes" when they were older. The boys did not even wear loincloths until about the age of sixteen. The girls wore only a little cloth from about the age of twelve on. This was because it was so hard to get clothes. They married only two to three years after getting clothes. The rich

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

War

582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius' says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius' says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
768 there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

' [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

We

565 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not
291 dominated by an "assistant." However, he domi-
177 nates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa
554 laki. This is interesting.

565 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ
576 by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] Special words are used as part of the lan-
576 guage of ceremonies and rites. However, this
178 is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 There are grades of pride on the kampong
621 level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than
614 its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 There are no approved marriages with mendi.
●582 This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

We

565 of Flores, so unlike the radjas of Celebes.
582 This is a correction of some of the previous notes, because he had said that radjas, dalu and gelarang intermarried only among each other. The truth seems to be that all except the mendi are intermarriageable.

There is still great feeling against marrying a descendant of a mendi. For example, in Pau, where there are about ten persons descended from mendi, there have been a few marriages of these families with commoners, but never with gelarang families (e.g., the assistant's). The assistant says that he would never want his daughter to marry a mendi descendant. I pressed hard on this, and asked him if he would not be willing to have his daughter marry a mendi descendant if, for example, he became a great man in Indonesia, along with the new democracy. He said absolutely not. This is a Catholic, young and educated fellow. Then I asked about his son, should he want to marry a mendi girl. He said there would be much less resistance in this case.

Among the uppers there is a great deal of inter-district marriage, for example, at the radja, dalu, gelarang and kraeng levels. There is also some inter-district marriage among the commoners.

789 The only magic power known is in the hands
756 of the mbako. They can give magical strength
565 to individuals. Thus again I see how important and powerful are these secret persons. The nobles, however, have no kekuatan adjaib.

797 The only major change in the local religion has been the introduction of Catholicism, and it has been epochal.

771 About fifty per cent of the local people are
788 Catholic. Just about every family has at least
183 one Catholic in it. If a Catholic wants to attend community rites, this is all right, but he

Wa

162 614	IIIa. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng		69
	IIIa1. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng	56	
	IIIa2. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng Nipatale	13	
	IIIb. Ama Hurint Marimaking		58
	IIIc. Ama Hurint Melamaking		80
	Total III. Ama Hurint		207
	IVa. Lewato Ama Waru'ing		25
	IVa1. Lewato Ama Waru'ing	21	
	IVa2. Lewato Ama Waru'ing Nipatale	4	
	IVb. Lewato Waktukang		21
	IVc. Lewato Tuhowutung		31
	Total IV. Lewato		77
	Va. Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing		7
	Vb. Lewodoreng Engamaking		43
	Total V. Lewodoreng		50

Thus the clan members of Wailolong total 647. There are 14 others from Leloba, and 27 from other places. The final total is 688.

[565] The "slaves" (Nipatale groups) total 17.
The "captives" (Ama Rere) total 62.
The "returned emigres" (Ama Rere Ama Tobi) total 10.

614 ● 582 The marriages are as follows:

Ia: IIIb; IIIc; Leloba Keleng Belolong (2); All OK.

Ib: IIIa1, IIIb (3); Leloba Keleng Belolong; Ib; IIa. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.

Ic1: IIIb (5) IIIc (2); Leloba Keleng Belolong; IIIa1. The last is taboo. Letter to him.

Ic2: IIIa1. This is taboo. Letter to him.

IIa: Ia; Ib (3); Ic2; IVa1; outside (3); IIIa1;

Wa.

614 582 IIIa2. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.

IIb: Ic1; IIIa1 (4); IIIa2; IIIb (2). All OK.

IIc: IIIa1; IIIb; IIIc. All OK.

IIIa1: Ic1; Ic2; Va; Vb (2); Leloba Kottang Waktukang; Ib; IVa1. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.

IIIa2: Ia; IIIa2; IVc. All these are taboo. Letter to him.

IIIb: IIa (4); Vb (3); Leloba Kottang Waktukang; outside; IVa. The last is taboo. Letter to him.

IIIc: IIa (4); IIb; IIIa (see note); IVc (3); Vb; outside (3); IIIc (2). The last two cases are taboo. Letter to him. (note: This is the "precedent" incest case. See notes on this.)

IVa1: IIIc. OK.

IVa2: IIIb. OK.

IVb: Ic1; IIa; Leloba Kottang. All OK.

IVc: Ia; Ic1; IIb (2); IIc. All OK.

Va: IIb. OK.

Vb: Ia; IIa (2) IIb (2); IIc.

(Note: The assistant told me that the Nipatale group in IV was IVc2, but in the records his cases are noted as IVa2. Letter to him.)

Outside: outside. OK. 1 case, the guru.

621 614 582 592 The assistant's map gives "wards" of the five clans, although he marks one place as "mainly Hurint, but mixed," and another is the Riang near Leloba. mainly if not all Leworita or Lewodoreng. According to his "wards," these are out of place:

We

	House	Suku	"Ward"
621	8	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
614	15	Lewodoreng	Hurint
●582	17	Outside (guru)	Lewodoreng
592	18	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	21	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
	25	Hurint	Datong
	31	Hurint	Datong
	33	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	37	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	41	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	42	Datong	Lewodoreng
	45	Leworita (wife Datong)	Datong
	47	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	55	Lewodoreng (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	62	Hurint	Leworita
	65	Lewato	Leworita
	66	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	67	Leworita (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	68	Lewodoreng	Lewato
	73	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	74	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	75	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	78	Datong	Lewato
	79	Leworita	Lewato
	80	Hurint	Leworita
	81	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	82	Hurint	Leworita
	83	Datong (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	87	Leworita	Lewato
	89	Hurint	Leworita

Thus, out of 100 houses, 30 are "out of place." Of these, however, the wife belongs to the "ward of residence" in fourteen cases. This leaves only sixteen cases which are really "out of place."

624 I tried to fill in the offices and ran into
124 some trouble. By using the records and the map
614 on which he indicated the houses of the officials,

5: Kennedy--419 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

R

162
614
582

I looked at the list of adult married males with wives living, and found some evidence of concentration of clans. In most cases, though I didn't work this out, if the widowed males were included, I would get a slightly more concentrated picture of the clan. As I reckon it, there are 111 cases.

I. Odja 15 plus 5, married with Odja wives: total number of cases 24 (63%, 83%).

II. Gusa 4 plus 3, married with Gusa wives: total number of cases 8 (50%, 88%).

III. Gusa 5 (63%)
Odja 3 (38%)
total number of cases 8.

IV. Gusa 5
total number of cases 5 (100%).

V. Wanda 4
total number of cases 6 (67%).

VI. Gusa 2 plus 2, married with Gusa wives: total number of cases 7 (no good)

VII. Odja 4
total number of cases 8 (50%).

VIII. (Complete spread, 5 cases)

IX. Odja 3
total number of cases 5 (50%).

X. Odja 5 (37%)
Ndoru 5 (37%)
total number of cases 13.

162 XI. Nggobe Unknown 8
614 total number of cases 16 (50%).
●582 (Maybe this is Nggobe clan?)

XII. (Complete spread, 6 cases)

Note that this comes out differently from the test made by merely totaling the members of clans.

	Marriage Pairs		
Odja:	Wanda	7	
	Ndoru	4	
	Meo	4	
	Gusa	3	
	Reandona	2	
	Woro	2	
	Djawa	1	
	Rewarangga	1	
	Soa	1	
	Gusi	1	
	Odja	1	(kapitan; he is really a Gusa)
		27	
	Unknown	8	
	Total	35	
Gusa:	Gusa	4	(they say they are at least 7 generations distant; 3 are in Kopo Edo; could it be that Gusa and Tibo were once separate?; both names are used)
	Odja	3	
	Wanda	3	
	Soa	2	
	Gusi	2	

R

162
614
582

	Woro	1
	Fongi	1
	Mboti	1
		17
	Unknown	2
	Total	19
Wanda:	Reandona	2
	Rewarangga	1
	Ndoru	1
		4
	Unknown	4
	Total	8
Ndoru:	Odja	4
	Wanda	4
	Gusa	1
	Woro	1
		10
	Unknown	1
	Total	11
Djawa:	Gusa	2
	Odja	1
	Wanda	1
	Sue	1
	Djawa	1 (case unexplained)
	Total	6
Wadja:	Odja	3
Ndosi:	Odja	1
	Wanda	1
Reandona:	Ndoru	2
Woro:	Odja	1
	Gusa	1

R

162 614 Penawuri:	Baoru	2
582 Bangova:	Wanda	1
	Unknown	1
Foa:	Wanda	1
	Unknown	1
Soa:	Ndoru	1
Wai:	Reandona	1
Mboti:	Wadja	1
Mbonggi:	Unknown	1
Kora:	Gusa	1
Outside:	Outside	2
	Odja	1
Unknown:	Unknown	13
	Rewarangga	2
	Gusa	1
	Baoru	1
	Total	17

Remarks on marriage: Of the six evidently endogamous marriages, one is not really endogamous, because the kapitan was born into Gusa but [597] adopted into Odja. Of the four Gusa endogamous pairs, three, in Kopo Edo, he maintains are distant. The other two are unexplainable: 1 Gusa and 1 Djawa.

These are pairs having frequency above 1:

Odja--Wanda	7--0	Gusa--Gusi	2--0
Odja--Ndoru	4--4	Wanda--Reandona	2--0
Odja--Meo	4--0	Ndoru--Wanda	4--1

162	Odja--Gusa	3--3	Djawa--Gusa	2--0
614	Odja--Reandona	2--0	Wadja--Odja	3--0
582	Odja--Woro	2--1	Reandona--Ndoru	2--0
	Gusa--Wanda	3--0	Penawuri--Baoru	2--0
	Gusa--Soa	2--0		

Thus, of the 15 frequencies, 11 are not reversed; 4 are. This might look a bit like mother's brother's daughter marriage. Note that Wanda never marries into any of the Big 5; but perhaps this does occur in Watu Rota (?).

To get anywhere in this area on the subject of marriages, one would have to collect this sort of data for all cases or from many kampongs. My guess is, whatever the original system was, that there are no marriage classes. However, there probably is a lot of mother's brother's daughter marriage.

595 162 Polygyny cases: (numbers refer to ages)

(1) 38: 30, 20 (sisters); Odja-Meo; pagan; illiterate; No. 5.
(2) 30: 25, 20; Odja-Ndoru, Meo; Christian, Christian, pagan; illiterate, 3, illiterate; No. 8.
(3) 50: 50, 50; Odja-Reandona, Wanda; pagan; illiterate; No. 24.
(4) 40: 30, 20; Ndosi-Wanda, Odja; Christian, pagan, pagan; illiterate; No. 54.
(5) 45: 45, 45, 45; Odja-?, Wanda, ?; pagan; illiterate; No. 62 (giri tumba)
(6) 50: 50, 35; Wadja-Odja; pagan; illiterate; No. 313.
(7) 30: 20, 18; ?-Rewarangga; Christian; 3, 3, illiterate; No. 426.
(8) 40: 30, 40; Bangova-Wanda, ?; Mohammedan; 3, illiterate, illiterate; No. 554.

565 There is not much to say about classes and

We

Clans

162 614 Veol	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	17	7	70	94
Other Clans	6	28	12	46
Total	23	35	82	140
Ndung	**Men**	**Women**	**Children**	**Total**
Veol Clan	18	17	57	92
Other Clans	21	39	54	114
Total	39	56	111	206
Total				
Veol Clan	35	24	127	186
Other Clans	27	67	66	160
Total	62	91	193	346

[591] I can see that Veol keeps to the patrilocal rule, and that there is a great preponderance of the Veol clan. This is more evident in Veol than in Ndung, where there are lots of matrilocal couples, and also many outsiders. In regard to the marriage pairs, this can be seen below:

Marriage Pairs (including Widows)

582 614 162	Veol	Ndung	Total
Man (Veol)--Woman (Other)	23	22	45
Woman (Veol)--Man (Other)	4	10	14
Other--Other	4	15	19
Man (Veol)--Woman (Veol) (different panga)	3	6	9

582 124 There is no use working out every marriage pair, because I can see that there is no system of marriage classes here. I note quite a few clearly mother's brother's daughter (tungku)

We

582 marriages, and the assistant will send a letter [124] to me about this later.

[591] He will also send me a letter about how many of the matrilocal residence cases are because of a failure to pay the bride price.

162 614

Clan Membership or Derivation: Veol

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol	17	7	70	94
Paka	3	0	6	9
Leda	1	2	2	5
Leko	1	1	2	4
Poka	0	3	0	3
Papang	1	0	2	3
Kepe		2		2
Laru		1		1
Kole		1		1
Ling		1		1
Taga		2		2
Dalo		2		2
Nulang		1		1
Ndadjung		1		1
Tuke		1		1
Watang		1		1
P. Leok		2		2
Ndehes		2		2
Kuleng		1		1
Tjumbi		1		1
Adjang		1		1
Tjarep		1		1
Nanu		1		1
Total	23	35	82	140